

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 005791

61

ORIGIN ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-15 AID-05

EB-07 TRSE-00 OMB-01 XMB-04 AF-06 EA-09 EUR-12 NEA-10

/121 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/CAR:DCNORTON:DG

APPROVED BY ARA/LA/CAR:WBWHEELER

ARA/PAF:PJOHNSON

----- 041050

P 092220Z JAN 76

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN PRIORITY

UNCLAS STATE 005791

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, EAID, UN, GY, US

SUBJECT:NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE ALLEGING LINK BETWEEN AID
AND UN VOTES

1. THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE
APPEARING IN JANUARY 9 EDITION REPORTING THAT U.S. LINKING
AID TO VOTES AT UN. ARTICLE PROMINENTLY MENTIONS GUYANA
AS ONE OF THOSE COUNTRIES BEING SANCTIONED FOR OPPOSING
U.S. ON ZIONISM AND KOREAN VOTES.

BEGIN TEXT - QUOTE:

WASHINGTON, JAN. 8 - SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A.

KISSINGER HAS FORMALLY INITIATED A POLICY OF SELECTING FOR
CUTBACKS IN AMERICAN AID THOSE NATIONS THAT HAVE SIDED
AGAINST THE U.S. IN VOTES IN THE UN. IN SOME CASES THE
CUTBACKS INVOLVE FOOD AND HUMANITARIAN RELIEF.

ACCORDING TO STATE DEPT. OFFICIALS, MR. KISSINGER HAS AL-
UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 STATE 005791

READY POSTPONED AGREEMENTS ON DEVELOPMENT AID TO TANZANIA

AND GUYANA BECAUSE OF THEIR VOTES IN THE UNGA TO CONDEMN ZIONISM AND TO OPPOSE THE ADMINISTRATION'S POSITION ON KOREA.

OTHER NATIONS SUCH AS MALAWI AND THE IVORY COAST, WHICH SUPPORTED ADMINISTRATION POSITIONS IN THE UN, WILL BE GIVEN

ADDITIONAL AID.

THE NEW POLICY WAS DESCRIBED IN BOTH NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE TERMS. THE OFFICIAL WHO DISCLOSED THIS INFORMATION TO THE NEW YORK TIMES, FOR EXAMPLE, CALLED THE POLICY NO MORE THAN A QUOTE ZAP LIST UNQUOTE TO PUNISH SMALL COUNTRIES AND DO NOTHING ABOUT OTHERS LIKE EGYPT THAT WERE ALSO VOTING AGAINST THE U.S.

ON THE OTHER HAND, STATE DEPT. OFFICIALS WHO CONFIRMED THE POLICY SPOKE OF IT AS SIMPLY A WAY OF SHOWING DEVELOPING NATIONS THAT THEIR BEHAVIOR IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS WOULD AFFECT THEIR DIRECT RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. AS ONE HIGH OFFICIAL PUT IT, QUOTE IF BI-LATERAL CONCERNS AREN'T OVERRIDING-LIKE MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS-WE HAVE TO DO SOMETHING TANGIBLE TO THEM TO SHOW THAT THEIR OPPOSITION TO US IS NOT COST-FREE UNQUOTE.

CONGRESS APPEARS TO BE DIVIDED ON THIS ISSUE. THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE HAS ISSUED A REPORT SPECIFICALLY PROHIBITING THE POLITICIZING OF ECONOMIC AID. THE HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE PASSED A RESOLUTION THAT, IN EFFECT, ENDORSED SOME KIND OF GET-TOUGH APPROACH AFTER THE UN VOTE CONDEMNING ZIONISM AS A FORM OF RACISM.

SOME OF THE OFFICIALS ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED THE FOLLOWING: HIGH OFFICIALS OF THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR CARRYING OUT DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS HAVE NOT BEEN INFORMED OF THE NEW POLICY. NATIONS WHOSE AID PROGRAMS HAVE BEEN DELAYED OR CANCELED ARE NOT EXPLICITLY BEING TOLD WHY, ALTHOUGH AS ONE OFFICIAL SAID, QUOTE WHEN OUR AMBASSADOR COMES TO UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 03 STATE 005791

THEM AND COMPLAINS ABOUT THEIR VOTES IN THE UN, AND A FEW WEEKS LATER AN AID TRANSACTION FALLS THROUGH, THEY GET THE PICTURE. UNQUOTE. THE POLICY WILL BE CARRIED OUT IN A SYSTEMATIC AND WIDE-RANGING WAY, USING ALL AVAILABLE AID PROGRAMS -GRANT MILITARY AID, MILITARY CREDIT SALES, GRANT FOOD AID, CREDIT FOOD SALES, EXPORT-IMPORT BANK LOANS, DEVELOPMENT AND HUMANITARIAN RELIEF ASSISTANCE-BUT RELYING INITIALLY AND MAINLY ON

DIPLOMATIC PROTESTS.

HIGH OFFICIALS FROM PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATIONS OFTEN EXPRESSED ANGER ABOUT THE VOTES OF DEVELOPING NATIONS IN THE UN AND THEIR DOUBLE STANDARD OF PUBLICLY ATTACKING THE U.S., BUT NOT THE SOVIET UNION, FOR DOING JUST ABOUT THE SAME THINGS. BUT NONE COULD RECALL ANY POLICY TO TRY TO INFLUENCE THIS SITUATION.

STATE DEPT. OFFICIALS TRACED THE ORIGINS OF THE NEW POLICY TO THREE FACTORS. ONE WAS THE APPOINTMENT OF DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN AS REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UN. MR. MOYNIHAN CAME TO THIS POSITION ON THE HEELS OF AN ARTICLE IN COMMENTARY MAGAZINE CALLING FOR A STRATEGY OF QUOTE RAISING HELL UNQUOTE IN THE UN.

A SECOND WAS MR. KISSINGER'S LONG-HELD BELIEF THAT WHEN NATIONS ACTED AGAINST IMPORTANT INTERESTS OF THE U.S. ON ISSUES THAT WERE EXTRANEIOUS TO THEIR OWN INTERESTS, THE ADMINISTRATION SHOULD TAKE A STERN LINE.

ON UN VOTES IN THE FALL CONCERNING KOREA, ZIONISM, INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO AND THE REMOVAL OF AMERICAN BASES FROM GUAM, MR. KISSINGER HAD INSTRUCTED MR. MOYNIHAN TO MAKE SUCH STRONG REPRESENTATIONS.

THE THIRD FACTOR WAS THE UN VOTE CONDEMNING ZIONISM AS A FORM OF RACISM, WHICH CAUSED A NUMBER OF CONGRESSMEN TO PRESS FOR CUTTING OFF AMERICAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE UN AND TO MANY OF ITS MEMBERS. THE HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE ASKED PRESIDENT FORD TO PROVIDE A REPORT IN 90 DAYS THAT WOULD JUSTIFY AID TO COUNTRIES THAT HAD VOTED FOR THE ANTI-ZIONIST RESOLUTION.

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 04 STATE 005791

A VERY DIFFERENT SENTIMENT WAS BEING EXPRESSED BY THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE AT ABOUT THE SAME TIME. IN ITS REPORT ON THE ECONOMIC AID BILL, THE COMMITTEE STATED THAT QUOTE INsofar as possible, ECONOMIC AND DISASTER ASSISTANCE SHOULD BE INSULATED FROM TRADITIONAL POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND THE VICISSITUDES OF THE DAY-TO-DAY CONDUCT OF FOREIGN POLICY. UNQUOTE.

THE RESOURCES PROVIDED FOR IN THIS BILL ARE NOT TO BE REGARDED AS TOOLS FOR THE PURSUIT OF SHORT-TERM POLITICAL OBJECTIVES, THE REPORT CONTINUED.

STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS FLATLY REJECTED A CHARGE THAT THEY HAVE PRODUCED A QUOTE ZAP LIST UNQUOTE AND SAY THAT

THEIR POLICY HAS ONLY A SHORT-RUN OBJECTIVE. THEY SAID AN OFFICE HAD BEEN SET UP IN THE STATE DEPT. TO MONITOR AND ANALYZE UN VOTES. IN ANALYZING THE VOTE, THE MONITORING OFFICE LOOKS AT HOW THE NATION WAS EXPECTED TO VOTE, WHETHER THE ISSUE WAS IMPORTANT TO THAT NATION OR WHETHER IT WAS TAKING QUOTE A FREE SWIPE UNQUOTE AGAINST THE ADMINISTRATION, AND OTHER CONSIDERATIONS SUCH AS DIRECT U.S. INTERESTS IN A PARTICULAR NATION.

THE OFFICIALS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IN MOST CASES ONLY SMALL

DEVELOPING NATIONS THAT COULD DO LITTLE TO THE U.S. IN RETURN ARE CHOSEN FOR ACTION. SUCH NATIONS INCLUDE CAMEROON, CYPRUS, BENIN, NIGER, SENEGAL, BURUNDI, CHAD AND MALTA. BUT THE ANALYSTS ALSO SELECT NATIONS LIKE INDIA, BANGLADESH AND NIGERIA FOR ACTION.

THE OFFICIALS ALSO EXPLAINED THAT IN MOST OF THESE CASES, IT IS A DIFFICULT CHOICE TO ACTUALLY CUT OFF ECONOMIC AID BECAUSE IT WOULD BE THE PEOPLE OF THESE COUNTRIES WHO WOULD SUFFER MOST.

QUOTE IN NEARLY ALL CASES, UNQUOTE ONE HIGH STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL SAID, QUOTE THERE IS GOOD REASON TO LIMIT OUR ACTIONS TO DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIONS, SENDING IN OUR AMBASSADOR TO USE PERSUASION. UNQUOTE.
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PAGE 05 STATE 005791

OTHER OFFICIALS AGREED THAT THE NEW POLICY WOULD BE VIGOROUSLY CARRIED OUT AS NEW AID COMMITMENTS WERE NEGOTIATED, AND THAT THE PATTERN OF MANY NATIONS ACTING AGAINST AMERICAN INTERESTS, WHERE IT WAS EASIER FOR THEM TO DO SO POLITICALLY, SHOULD BE BROKEN. END OF TEXT.
END QUOTE.

2. PRESS GUIDANCE FOLLOWS SEPTTEL. KISSINGER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRESS COMMENTS, TEXT, POLICIES, FOREIGN ASSISTANCE, SANCTIONS, MEETING VOTING RECORDS, ALLEGATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 09 JAN 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE005791
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: DCNORTON:DG
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760009-0110
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760170/aaaackfk.tel
Line Count: 210
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN ARA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: castelsl
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09 JUL 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <09 JUL 2004 by barnescd>; APPROVED <18 AUG 2004 by castelsl>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: EW YORK TIMES ARTICLE ALLEGING LINK BETWEEN AID AND UN VOTES
TAGS: PFOR, EAID, GY, US, UN, NEW YORK TIMES
To: GEORGETOWN
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006